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refugees from SOUTHEAST ASIA

their background



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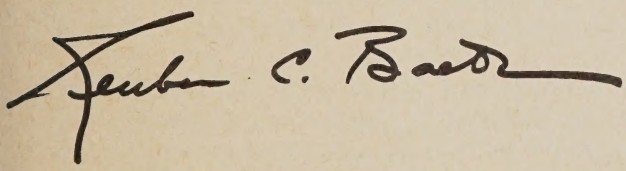
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Introduction

The refugee movement is one of the most tragic aspects of the recent situation in Southeast Asia. The dramatic fashion in which refugees are coming to Canada underlines the urgent need of government, sponsoring organizations, churches and service groups for information.

A short profile on the Vietnamese already exists in my Ministry. This second publication is an attempt to provide, without much delay, some more background information that might be of use to the public. Readers' comments and suggestions will be welcome.

The Ministry of Culture and Recreation has been assigned a leading role in working with refugees. My own years of involvement with those who have been driven from their homelands by wars and natural disasters convinced me that it is essential that the receiving society be well informed. This publication and future issues of the Ministry's quarterly publication, *TESL Talk,* (which will contain additional materials) will, we hope, make the process of settlement more informed and humane.



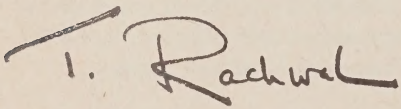
Reuben C. Baetz
Minister of Culture and Recreation

Acknowledgments

This publication, providing background information for those involved with Southeast Asian refugees, was prepared with edifying speed due, above all, to the co-operation of the the contributors: Dr. MacMillan, Messrs. Chu and Wu. Mr. Michael Green and Ms. Liisa Bundock had the difficult task of producing a working list of sources of information on refugee settlement.

Thanks are due to Mr. Peter Ayers for his editing while the advice of Mrs. P. Mackenzie and Mrs. Su Chong was very useful. Finally, Mr. M.J. Diakowsky's comments on the manuscript were most helpful.

This publication was first issued under the title *Refugees from Indo-China: their background.*



Thade Rachwal
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A Vietnamese profile

by John Do Trong Chu

The characteristics of the Vietnamese people are largely determined by the country's geography. Located between India and China, Vietnam's culture and religions have been greatly influenced by these cultural giants.

Vietnam is long and narrow in shape, and its history is that of a people continuously struggling for survival from the grasp of the powerful Chinese neighbors on the north, and for gradual expansion towards the south for more *lebensraum.*

Traditions have been eroded somewhat in modern times by the experience of French colonization and, most recently, by the encounter with the Americans. The war affected not only the country's economy but also its family and social traditions.

Physically, the Vietnamese are small with black hair and dark eyes. The men have great physical endurance, and can stand long, hard work. Before the war, the majority of the Vietnamese were farmers and lived in small villages.

In traditional Vietnamese society, great respect and obedience are reserved for government officials, teachers, parents, and the elderly. The education system puts a lot of emphasis on the duties of the person, on what he or she should and must do, on how he or she should behave.

Generally speaking, Vietnamese are well-mannered. By Confucian standards, the display of emotion in public—except in the case of death and burial—is considered vulgar. A raised voice or wild gestures are regarded as impolite.

This self-control is also expected between persons of the opposite sex, and don't look for much public display of affection between members of the family, except in the case of small children.

Names

Vietnamese names are usually composed of from two to four words. The family comes first, followed by the middle name (if any) then the given name. Example: TRAN HUNG, NGUYEN VAN KIM, LE THI BACH LAN. In Vietnamese society, these persons are not known as Mr. Tran, Mr. Nguyen or Miss Le, but as Mr. Hung, Mr. Kim or Miss Lan.

Many Vietnamese have the same middle name: for a male VAN (denoting a wish for success as a man of letters) and for a female, THI (denoting a wish for numerous offspring).

The most common Vietnamese family names are: NGUYEN, TRAN, LE, HOANG or HUYNH, PHAM, PHAN, VU or VO, BUI, NGO, LY, DO, DINH.

Male names usually depict courage (Hung, Dung, Cuong), prosperity (Phuc, Loc), virtue (Nhan, Nghia, Le, Tin), intelligence (Tri, Thong, Ming, Quang). Women are named after flowers (Cuc, Lien, Lan, Hoa, Mai), virtue (Hanh, Trang, Thuc), beauty (Dung, Diem, Le, My), etc.

Married women usually keep their maiden names.

In Vietnam, Christian names are not normally used except for baptismal records, or in some schools or circles where western influence is very strong.

Education

The education of children holds a predominant role in Vietnamese life. In the old times, the only road to a high government post (and consequently to fame and a good life) was through education and success in the state examination.

Although there were some schools run by the government, most of the education was given in one-teacher schools. A teacher was held in great respect, honored by students only after the king, but before the students' own fathers. The same word "thay" was (and still is) used for the teacher and for the father. So much influence was exerted by the teacher over the students that when former students committed a serious offence (such as rebellion against the king) not only was the offender punished but also the offender's father and teacher.

At present, students still maintain this commendable tradition. Out of respect for the teachers and educators, Vietnamese students are quiet in class and listen carefully.

To provide a good education for one's children was the parents' duty. It was also considered a sound investment or insurance. No financial sacrifices were too great where the children's future was concerned and parents often went into heavy debt to secure an education for children who showed promise.

In old times, the royal examinations and the mandarinate were not open to women; therefore not many women attended school. Instead of spending a lengthy time in studying the difficult Chinese classics, they had to work in the family ricefields or do house-keeping chores.

With the adoption of a Romanized national language (quoc ngu) and the recent compulsory universal education at the primary level in the late 1950s, most boys and girls began to attend school.

Family

The Vietnamese family is patriarchal by tradition. The father plays an important role in family life. Filial piety is considered one of the most important duties of a person. Not to take good care of one's own parents is considered a social disgrace. In an Asian society where insurance is not popular, the family constitutes one's own insurance system. In case of need, you just ask for help from your nearest relative and the assistance is usually provided as expected.

Children used to live with parents, even after their marriage. Three or four generations living under the same roof was considered a great blessing. There under the vigilant guidance of the benevolent patriarch, the family grew in prosperity and posterity.

Now, due to the mobility of modern living, the nuclear family, composed only of parents and children, has come of age in Vietnam as it has elsewhere in the developing countries of the world.

Marriage

In a patriarchal society like Vietnam, the continuation of the family line was very important. It was a joint undertaking by two families. The two people directly concerned—the young man and the young woman—did not have much to say in the selection of the mate. It was the duty of the parents, helped by the go-between.

There was no divorce, only repudiation of the wife by the husband, but it was

rarely applied. If the wife did not bear a son, it was possible that she would arrange for a second wife or a concubine for the husband, so that a male heir could carry on the family name.

With the spread of education, the emancipation of women, and the important roles increasingly played by women in society, these concepts are fast becoming past history. Now the young people, whether men or women, have as much say as their parents—if not more—in their selection of a mate, a career, or a style of living.

Birth

The birth of any child causes great joy; the birth of the first baby boy, however, causes the greatest joy in the family. Babies are carried in the arms of parents, grandmothers or elder sisters a lot more frequently than in western countries. The child's first birthday calls for a great celebration.

Funeral

A traditional Vietnamese funeral took a lot of time, preparation and money. Some families went into heavy debt because of these funerals, as they were occasions "to pay the filial debt to one's parents".

Numerous friends and relatives were invited and copiously wined and dined; musicians and monks were present for sacrificial prayers. The richer the dead person was, and the higher in social class, then the longer and more expensive his or her funeral would be.

Old people make preparations for their own funerals: burial spot bought, mausoleum built up, even hearse ready and waiting somewhere in a spare room in the house.

These traditions have changed a great deal and in modern society the funeral is cut short in time, and down in expense.

Food

Basic foods for the Vietnamese are rice, vegetables, soya sauce, egg, some fish and meat. Although somewhat similar to the Chinese, Vietnamese cuisine uses less fat or oil for cooking. French gastronomy exerted its influence on Vietnamese

eating habits too. It is quite normal to find both western and oriental dishes in a Vietnamese meal.

Vietnamese use chopsticks and small bowls for eating. Nuoc mam or fish sauce is usually used as sauce or seasoning.

The favorite drink for the Vietnamese is green tea; it is served piping hot, without sugar, cream, milk, or lemon.

The Vietnamese are used to having a light breakfast, and a heavy lunch and dinner.

Clothing

Vietnam lies in a tropical and sub-tropical area where there is no winter in the south and only a mildly cold winter in the north. The Vietnamese, therefore, are not used to warm underclothes, heavy winter clothes or heating. They should be warned about the necessity of having enough warm clothes, boots, gloves, hats or scarves with coverings for the ears.

In Vietnam, many people, especially the peasants, do not wear shoes.

The traditional attire of the Vietnamese is not much different from western pyjamas (except for the collar and the color); that is the reason some Vietnamese wear pyjamas all the time at home, and not just at the time they are ready to go to bed.

The traditional long coat (ao dai) is worn by women when they go out. In the cities, it is a form-fitting robe split at the waist and very becoming to the usually slim Vietnamese women

Men in the villages and, on formal occasions in the cities, wear the same type of ao dai, but the cut is larger and the men wear a black turban to go with the ao-dai.

For school and for work, the Vietnamese wear western dress.

Hospitality

The Vietnamese are very hospitable. Failure to offer anything to eat (if not a meal, at least a snack or a drink) to a visitor is considered a lack of courtesy. If a visitor happens to drop in at mealtime, he or she is invariably asked to join the

family's table: to refuse to serve as a host or to refuse to accept as a guest on such occasions is considered a breach of social etiquette.

Tea is omnipresent in a Vietnamese family and is offered any time of day or night to visitors. Cigarettes are also offered if the guests smoke.

When in company, the person in the highest social rank or age is supposed to pay for the meal or drink unless it was otherwise prearranged. For an inferior or younger person to insist on paying on these occasions is considered poor taste or judgment.

During the meal, the Vietnamese host is accustomed to serving you food or drink many times over. He may heap your plate or bowl with chopstickfuls or spoonfuls of food, so don't be surprised by this.

House

The Vietnamese house is not only a place for living but also a place for worship. For living, the house must offer enough privacy to protect dwellers from curious eyes. The orientation of the house is also important to protect the inhabitants from the tropical sun in the afternoon in the summer, and the cold north wind in the winter. That is why the traditional Vietnamese dwelling usually faces south or east, or southeast.

As a place of worship, the house must have the ancestors' altar positioned at the place of honor. Parents and grandparents, although deceased, were considered as still present in the dwelling and nothing unseemly would be permitted out of deference to them.

Women stay in the inner quarters, away from the common area used for communal living and eating.

Community hall or dinh

Every Vietnamese village has a community building called "dinh" for public meetings, public worship and festivities.

In the "dinh" is the altar of the village "genie" or protector. Every year, there is a festival in his honor and it calls for great celebration with a ceremonial procession, repast, theatrical entertainment, and athletic or literary competition.

Social position and seniority command a place of honor at the "dinh" sitting.

Festivals and holidays

•*Tet,* or Lunar New Year, is by far the most important event for all Vietnamese. The celebration lasts at least three days. It is both a family and social event. Presents are offered to parents, teachers and bosses. Gifts are exchanged among friends. Offerings are placed in the family altar for the deceased ancestors.

•*Hai Ba Trung Day* is celebrated to honor the two Trung Sisters, heroines who liberated the country from the Chinese in the First Century BC. *Hai Ba Trung Day* is celebrated on the fifth day of the second lunar month.

•*Gio To,* or Nation's Founders Day is a celebration on the tenth day of the third lunar month in honor of the Hung Dynastic Kings and is now observed as a National Remembrance Day by all Vietnamese refugees abroad.

•*Vu Lan* or *Trung Nguyen* is Wandering Souls day and is celebrated on the 15th day of the seventh lunar month. This day is spent in prayers and sacrifices (in the form of alms to the poor or by freeing birds, fishes, etc.) for the departed, especially deceased parents.

•*Trung-Thu,* or Mid-Autumn Festival for Children, is celebrated on the 15th day of the eighth lunar month.

Language

The Vietnamese language is spoken by nearly 50 million Vietnamese including the ethnic Chinese minority. It is a monosyllabic and tonal language. A change of tone in the speaker's voice changes the meaning of the word. It's good to remember these two Vietnamese words:
CHÀO = HELLO
CÁM ƠN = THANKS

Culture

Scholars, writers, philosophers, educators and poets are greatly honored by the Vietnamese. The arts of painting, wood carving, embroidery and mother-of-pearl laying are held in great esteem. Music, singing, acting and drama were acceptable in the past only as a hobby and not as a respectable career. Now they attract many people seeking fame and fortune.

Vietnamese culture attaches more importance to moral values, intellectual

achievements and spiritual merit than to material success.

Religion

Ancestor worship is the most dominant factor in Vietnamese traditional society. It is still a strong influence among those who are members of an organized religion. Main religions in Viet Nam are: Buddhism, Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Hoa-Hao (renovated Buddhism), Cao-Dai (a synthesis of Taoism Confucianism and Buddhism). Some Vietnamese are animist and superstitious. They believe in friendly and unfriendly spirits.

Some understanding

People of different cultural backgrounds need understanding and adjustment to get along. For instance, a Vietnamese uses a waving gesture to indicate that you are to come toward him or her, and you might assume (wrongly) that he or she is saying goodbye. The Vietnamese, on the other hand, may be offended when you beckon them to come, because your gesture is used by them only when beckoning a dog. They may not like your strong slap on the back either.

The average Vietnamese is very reserved, very shy and very restrained in expressing feelings or emotions. He or she is also very loyal, very grateful, very devoted to his or her family and very hardworking. The Vietnamese are also very open to compromise so that neither side in a dispute loses face.

Among their weaknesses: sometimes vague about commitments (maybe out of politeness, not wanting to say a straight "no"); somewhat flexible about time (until recently not many Vietnamese had a watch); sometimes too thrifty with money.

Love is an international language, understood by all. Tender loving care on the part of the Canadian sponsor, teacher, social worker, or counsellor will bring a satisfactory solution to any problem.

A big smile will go a long, long way.

Mr. John Do Trong Chu, formerly a Vietnamese foreign service officer, arrived in Canada in 1975. He is now the co-ordinator of the Vietnamese Association, Toronto.

Facts about ethnic Chinese from Vietnam

by Phat Wu and Hong Tai Au

Introduction

In the recent massive flight of hundreds of thousands of boat people from Vietnam, reports confirmed by the newly-arrived refugees suggest that more than 85% are ethnic Chinese. This is the direct result of the political persecution carried out by the Vietnamese Government against the Chinese minority in Vietnam. Seeing how hopeless it was to continue living there, they had no alternative but to give up their life's savings in order to be allowed to escape in leaky boats with their families to an uncertain destination.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the Canadian Government and the private sponsor groups, up to 50,000 Indo-Chinese refugees from the crowded refugee camps in Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian countries will be able to resettle in Canada. In view of the unprecedented number of ethnic Chinese who have landed or are expected to land in the coming months, we think it useful to provide some background information on the people, their culture, and their family traditions, which are all slightly different from those of native Vietnamese. As they share similar physical features, common religions and certain traditions and customs, however, it is very difficult for Canadians to distinguish one from the other. Since there is much published information available on Vietnamese refugees in general, we hope the following factual account of ethnic Chinese in particular may be helpful to private sponsors and to all people who wish to have a better understanding of these newcomers.

An overview

The ethnic Chinese represent the largest minority group in Vietnam. According to a reliable estimate in early 1975, before the fall of the South Vietnam Government, there were about 2.5 million. They lived chiefly in cities. In the capital Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) alone, there were about 1,250,000. About half of the ethnic Chinese population was concentrated in the large Chinese community

in Cholon. Excepting a small number of industry tycoons, the backbone of the population is middle class, consisting of intellectuals, small businessmen and skilled workers.

The long established Chinese community there was formed by five principal dialect groups, namely Canton, Fukien, Chaochow, Hainam and Hakka, with Cantonese as the predominant one. Since Mandarin was the medium of instruction in Chinese schools, the young and educated ones speak Mandarin as well. In Cholon, the community centres of these 5 dialect groups each operated their own community schools, hospitals and cemeteries, to compensate for lack of a social welfare system.

They or their ancestors emigrated mostly from the provinces of Kwangtong and Fukien in Southern China. Although the younger generation, born in Vietnam, is bilingual in Vietnamese and Chinese, it still keeps the Chinese cultural heritage and family traditions. In fact such ethnic Chinese are more similar to overseas Chinese in Hong Kong, Singapore or other southeast Asian countries, than to ethnic Vietnamese. Experience and understanding gained in dealing with Chinese Canadians in general are applicable to ethnic Chinese from Indo-China.

Brief history

With a long common border and an uninterrupted relationship over 2,000 years, Vietnamese and Chinese are culturally and ethnically closely related. Before the invention of the Romanized Vietnamese characters by a French missionary, Père Alexandre de Rhode, in the latter part of the 19th century, the Vietnamese scholars learned and wrote Chinese characters, which formed the basis of their written language.

The first organized expedition of Chinese immigrants to Indo-China came in 1671, when the Ming Dynasty was overthrown by the Manchurians. The son of one loyal general in Kwangtong, Mac Cuu, refused to surrender to the new regime, and leading 400 volunteers, along with his mother and family, left China in ships. They finally landed on the sea port now known as Hatien in the southern part of Vietnam. With the permission of the local authorities, they settled down and developed the waste land into a rich productive region. In 1708, the Vietnamese emperor appointed him the commander-in-chief of the Hatien Region.

The descendants of the first Chinese immigrants called themselves Minh Huong (people of Ming Dynasty). A historical temple of Minh Huong, built over 300 years ago, still remains in Cholon. Ironically these Chinese immigrants were the first to be nicknamed "Nguoi Tau", or "boat people", because most of them had originally arrived by boats.

In 1860, after France had made South Vietnam her colony, Saigon was opened up as the principal commercial sea port in the south. In order to speed up the development, the local authorities encouraged the continuous influx of Chinese immigrants to Indo-China from south China. In 1862 the French authorities granted the Chinese people there permanent immigrant status and collected one piastre poll tax annually through the Chinese community centres.

From 1921 to 1931, economic growth in Vietnam increased rapidly as a national railway was built, and commerce prospered. As a result, Chinese manpower was generally in great demand. Within 10 years the total of Chinese immigrants reached approximately 418,000. In 1937, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out, many more Chinese immigrants went to Indo-China to seek peace and earn their living.

After the Second World War, the French army returned to Vietnam, but soon a nationalist resistance flared up. In 1954, the French army was decisively defeated at Dien Bien Phu. Under the Geneva Peace Agreement, France withdrew, and Vietnam was separated into the North and the South at the 17th parallel. North Vietnam became a Communist State under Chairman Ho Chi Minh, and the South became a Democratic Republic led by President Ngo-Dinh Diem.

On August 31st, 1956, the Compulsory Naturalization Decree No. 48 was issued by the Ngo Dinh Diem Government, which forced all Vietnamese-born Chinese to become Vietnamese citizens. Another Decree, No. 53, was issued on the following September 6th, 1956, prohibiting Chinese immigrants from operating 11 categories of essential business, including the sale of fish and meat, groceries, firewood and charcoal, oil and gasoline, textile products, iron and copper scraps, and the operating of rice mills, pawn shops, and transportation and brokerage businesses. These two decrees compelled more than 95 per cent of the ethnic Chinese to become Vietnamese subjects, including the Chinese-born.

In spite of numerous hardships and frustrations, it was generally recognized that the Chinese minority contributed enormously to the economic growth of Vietnam. Though they played an important role in the economy, they were not interested in politics and few of them had held public offices. As a result, the Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese have generally lived together in harmony; intermarriages are numerous in rural areas. In cities many co-operated closely and cordially in business ventures.

Education

Under the influence of the time-honored teachings of Confucius and his followers, education was highly esteemed by all segments of the ethnic Chinese society in Vietnam. Before 1956, in the capital and in many big cities in Central and South Vietnam, there was at least one Chinese Community School teaching a Chinese curriculum on the lines of the school system in China. That was: 6 years elementary school for children of 6 to 12 years; 3 years junior middle school for teenagers from 13 to 15 years; 3 years senior middle school for teenagers from 15 to 18 years. They were taught geography, history, civics, mathematics and general sciences in Chinese, and Vietnamese, French or English as a second language.

After 1956, a Vietnamese curriculum was introduced by law in all Chinese schools and all students had to learn Vietnamese first, with Chinese as a second language. This accounts for the fact that the younger generation is generally bilingual.

Children of rich families, after graduating from senior middle school, were sent to Taiwan or Hong Kong to continue higher education in Chinese universities, or went to study in the Vietnamese universities in Saigon.

Upper class Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese both liked to send their children to French Catholic schools or English private schools. They aimed to prepare their children for higher education in universities in France, other European nations or the United States and Canada. This explains why a number of ethnic Chinese students were studying, or had already completed their education, in Canadian universities before the fall of Saigon in April, 1975.

In the 60s, with the rapidly increased involvement of the U.S.A. in the Vietnam War, English-speaking workers and office personnel were in great demand. Seven to eight English-language institutions were established one after another in Saigon to meet the urgent need of eager English learners. These institutions followed the patterns of Hong Kong English colleges and abridged the teaching curriculum into 4 years in order to educate students who had finished their elementary or junior middle schools. The results were remarkable. Within a few years many graduates were immediately recruited to fill the positions in the newly established American and foreign firms, or in various agencies or branches of the U.S.A. military and administrative organizations there.

Language

Brought up in a society of diverse languages, the young and middle aged generally speak Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese plus the dialect spoken at home.

Those who are well educated can speak English or French. Older women usually have a language barrier because they are accustomed to speaking only their own dialect. Older men can usually manage to express themselves in Cantonese and Vietnamese. Some of the old intellectuals can speak correct French as well.

Names

Ethnic Chinese retain their Chinese family names which are written in the standard Vietnamese spellings with or without the marks of accent. For example:

With Accent	*Without Accent Marks*	*Equivalent English spelling*
TRÂN	TRAN	CHAN
LÝ	LY	LEE
LÂM	LAM	LIM
TRÙONG	TRUONG	CHANG
NGÔ	NGO	WU
HUỲNG	HUYNG	WONG

Family structure and values

Ethnic Chinese in Vietnam retain their strong family ties and traditions. The family represents the chief source of social identity for individuals and has first claim on their support and loyalty.

The traditional Chinese household consists of three generations. The grandfather is respected as the head of the family and the grandmother is well looked after. Her job is to babysit for the grandchildren and advise the young couples. Elderly couples have never gone to homes for the aged, which rarely existed in Vietnam. However most young families live separately nowadays.

Housewives generally stay at home to manage the house work or assist in the family business. Adult males, who are the bread earners, usually work hard to bear the heavy burden of the family.

The ethnic Chinese family structure is paternal. Individuals are identified by their connections through the father's male line. A son is generally a more welcome offspring than a daughter.

Young children are submissive to their parents. For discipline, spanking may be resorted to in serious cases.

Marriage

Marriages arranged by parents do not exist any longer. However, parents still have great influence in deciding their children's marriage, which is considered a social contract. Failure in marriage spoils the name of the family, so the divorce rate is not high.

Contrary to western custom, the groom's family is responsible for all the expenses of the wedding ceremony and dinner party. To comply with the law, a civil marriage certificate is usually obtained some time after marriage.

Young couples still like to have children, but not as big a family as the older generations had. A family with two sons and one daughter is ideal. Birth control, by pills or other preventative methods, is generally practised.

Religion

There is little difference in religion between native Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese. The majority believe in a kind of mixture of Buddhism and Taoism.

Some of the modern generation, especially those educated in French Catholic schools or in other western countries, have converted to Christianity. Catholics and Protestants account for about 10 per cent of the ethnic Chinese society.

Beyond the realm of organized religion, the ethical system of Confucianism, emphasizing ancestor worship, and devotion to family and friends, remains strong in the daily life of the Chinese society there.

Family religious observances take place at home or in the family temple. Most families have an altar dedicated to ancestors and to Buddha. Rites honoring the ancestors are performed on feast days and on the anniversary of the death of each ancestor.

Besides this, the older generation piously worships the Sea Goddess "Empress", nicknamed Grandmother because of her protection on their original voyage from south China. There is an Empress Temple near the Chinese quarter in all big cities. Some old women who believe in Buddhism fast twice a month on the first and the 15th days of the lunar calendar month. Some worship the God of War, General Kuan Yu (a general in the period of the Three Kingdoms, defined in later generations as China's God of War), or the Goddess of Mercy (the feminine form of Avalskitesvara Bodhisattva) and these worshippers abstain from eating beef.

Festivals

Both Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese observe the lunar calendar for days of the traditional festivals and anniversaries of the ancestors' deaths. But they also keep the solar (Gregorian) calendar for working and national holidays. All the calendars printed in south Vietnam have the features of days of both calendars. Both celebrate extravagantly the Chinese New Year, known as *Têt* in Vietnamese. The surprise Têt offensive in 1968 was launched nation-wide by Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam during the Têt Holidays. The second big festival is the Mid-Autumn Festival, which falls on the 15th day of the 8th moon of the lunar calendar. It is also celebrated as Children's Day by the former South Vietnamese Government. Children usually receive colorful hand lanterns as gifts from adults, and mooncakes are served. On the 15th day of the 7th moon, is the Ghost Festival. On this occasion a feast is offered first to the spirits, then to the family.

Food

The basic food in Vietnam is rice. Ethnic Chinese families take three meals a day. Breakfast is light, usually noodle soup or bread with meat; lunch and supper are homemade dishes which might consist of small amounts of pork, fish, shrimp, chicken, eggs and cooked vegetables. The style is similar to the food served by Chinese Canadian families.

The chief difference between Chinese and Vietnamese meals is in the seasoning. The former is served with soyabean sauce and the latter with fish sauce. Both are eaten with chopsticks.

There should be no difficulty in finding foodstuffs at any Chinese grocery store downtown. Fresh milk is not available in Vietnam; therefore children are not used to drinking homogenized milk. In case of need, skimmed or 2 per cent milk is preferable. Older children drink tea, and adults drink tea and coffee with or without milk. Without exception, young and old like soft drinks.

Almost all housewives know how to prepare various ordinary dishes for the family. They prefer to eat at home rather than to eat out. Ethnic Chinese in general are not accustomed to eating bread daily. There are few cases of alcoholism, though young folks like to drink beer in moderation.

Sports and recreation

The ethnic Chinese are enthusiastic about certain sports, namely table tennis, badminton, swimming and basketball. They also like to watch a soccer match oc-

casionally. Only the upper class can afford to play tennis and golf. Not surprisingly, they know little about hockey, football and baseball. Children of course love toys, although they don't have sophisticated ones. The older children like to play Chinese chess and go fishing.

There was a black and white TV station set up and left behind by the U.S. forces. The programs have been reduced to only two hours daily and the contents are very dull. There were several modern movie houses in Saigon, and before the take-over, color films from the U.S.A., France, Hong Kong and Taiwan were constantly on show, but are no longer seen.

Gambling was prohibited before 1975. Young ethnic Chinese do not know how to play Mah Jong, a game very popular in the Chinese community in Canada. Mah Jong was banned by ex-President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1955. Social dancing, once popular among young folks, is also now banned in Vietnam.

Living and working habits

Because of the tropical climate in Vietnam, people there are used to getting up early in the morning, and then having a short siesta between 12 and 2 p.m. Newcomers will undoubtedly lose this habit after adjusting to the new climate.

Ethnic Chinese are generally sensible and hardworking. Some, however, due to a lack of physical strength, are not suited to heavy labor.

Before 1960, the relationship between employers and workers in small enterprises had been traditionally paternalistic. With the growth of large-scale enterprises, wage labor and the development of American-sponsored industry, however, this old Chinese system declined. After the communist regime took over in 1975 such paternalism was completely destroyed.

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Messrs. Phat Wu and Hong-Tai Au are both from Saigon. The former has been working as an editor of the Chinese Express in Toronto since his arrival in Canada in late 1975. The latter has been employed in business since his arrival in Canada early this year.

Indo-China: a history

by Margaret MacMillan

Indo-China is in the news once again. That troubled region on the southern rim of China has been the scene of almost constant fighting since 1945; today, enormous numbers of its inhabitants are trying to flee from it. Since 1975 over half a million people have made the dangerous journey by land or by sea. Most are still in refugee camps as the unwelcome guests of the neighboring countries of Asia. Who are these refugees? Why are there so many Chinese among them? And why are they leaving? To understand the answers to these questions it is necessary to look at the past.

Three countries make up Indo-China. Laos in the northwest is the smallest (with a population of perhaps 3 1/2 million) and the weakest. Cambodia, or Kampuchea, which lies between Laos and the sea, used to have a population of about 7 million; today it may well have less. Vietnam is the giant of the area, both militarily and economically; its population is almost 50 million. It is from Vietnam, with its long coastline, that the great majority of the "boat people" have come. And it is refugees from Vietnam who make up by far the highest proportion of the Indo-Chinese who have already been admitted to Canada. For this reason and because Vietnam is so much bigger than Laos and Cambodia, this brief history will tend to emphasize the events in Vietnam.

The term "Indo-China" to describe all three countries was first coined by a Danish geographer who lived in Paris in the early 19th century. He was trying to express what it was that distinguishes the area from the rest of Asia: the fact that it lies at a crossroads where the influences from two great Asian civilizations meet. India and China have both helped to form the character of Indo-China, in the arts, in technology, in methods of government, in religion. To take only one example: India gave the religion of Buddhism, while China gave the code of behavior known as Confucianism. The two civilizations met and mingled but in general each had a stronger influence on the part of Indo-China nearer itself. Vietnam's culture owed more to China, where Cambodia's was more Indian.

Given its geographical location, it is not surprising that Indo-China has had a turbulent history. Empires have risen and fallen, invaders have come and gone, and peoples have shifted from the north to the south and from west to the east.

Today's fighting, between Vietnam and Cambodia or between China and Vietnam, today's movement of refugees, are only the latest episodes in a long and violent history. Its past has left Indo-China with a mosaic of different peoples and a legacy of ancient rivalries which still affect events today.

The largest ethnic group are the Vietnamese who make up about 90 per cent of the population of the country named after them. Although there is still a debate about their origins, it is clear that there was a distinct Viet civilization in what is today north Vietnam before the birth of Christ. It was probably produced as a result of mixing of local Indonesian peoples with Mongols who drifted southwards from China over the centuries. For over 1,000 years, from 111 BC to 939 AD, the Vietnamese were a part of the Chinese empire, a fact which their descendants have never forgotten.

Although the Vietnamese absorbed a great deal of China's civilization, they never really accepted Chinese rule. There were continual rebellions against their overlords. (One particularly famous one, which started in 39 AD, was led by two sisters.) Vietnam finally won its independence in 939 but it continued to be threatened by China. In the 15th century, the Chinese even succeeded in re-establishing control over their lost province for a couple of decades.

Interestingly enough, for most of Vietnam's recorded history, south Vietnam, around the Mekong River delta, was not Vietnamese at all. It was under the sway of successive empires of which the two most significant were a state called Champa, and Cambodia. After the Vietnamese in the north freed themselves from the Chinese rule, they slowly began to push southwards. Over the centuries their power and numbers grew while that of their rivals faded. By 1700, the Vietnamese had spread into the Mekong delta; Champa had disappeared altogether and Cambodia was a shadow of its former self. The conquest of the south, however, did not bring an end to fighting for the Vietnamese. With no major external enemies, they fell to fighting each other. There was a series of civil wars, especially between northerners and southerners. That north-south division, like the hostility to the Chinese, has continued to reverberate through Vietnam's history right up to the present.

When the Vietnamese expanded their territory, they did so largely at the expense of the Khmers, the dominant ethnic group in Cambodia. At one point this people had ruled over a huge kingdom that ran from Laos in the north to as far south as the top of the Malaysian peninsula. They had built great and elaborate cities including the world-famous complex at Angkor Wat. By the 19th century, however, Cambodia had almost disappeared as an independent state and many

Khmers were under the rule of the Thais in the west or the Vietnamese in the east. The fear and hostility of the Khmers towards the Vietnamese is another factor from the past which still plays a part in Indo-Chinese politics today.

The people who dominated the third and smallest state of Indo-China also gave it its name. The Laos were cousins of the Thais who moved south from China in the 13th century attacking the Cambodian empire as they did so. Their turn to be attacked was to come later; by the 19th century, the Laos were almost entirely under the dominance of Thailand. Of all three countries, Laos has the least strongly developed sense of nationalism.

The past has left the countries of Indo-China suspicious of each other and, especially in the case of Vietnam, fearful of China. It has also left them with mixed populations. Each country has significant minorities. In Vietnam, for example, about 10 per cent of the population are not Vietnamese at all; some are descended from the earliest inhabitants, some are the remnants of long-vanished empires, and still others have moved in from neighboring countries over the centuries. There are large numbers of Khmers in south Vietnam. (Conversely, the Vietnamese are a significant minority in Cambodia.) In peaceful times, the ethnic groups have coexisted; in times of tension, which have been far more usual in Indo-China lately, it becomes all too easy to single out the minorities as scapegoats.

This appears to be particularly true of the fate of the Chinese minority at the present time. There have been Chinese—travellers, adventurers, soldiers, merchants—coming to Indo-China, and especially to Vietnam, for centuries. Until the 19th century, they tended to marry local women and become part of the local culture. It is only within the last 150 years that the Chinese have arrived in sufficient numbers and with sufficient Chinese women to be able to remain a distinct ethnic group. The reasons for the change and indeed for much else that has happened in Indo-China lie in the arrival of a fresh outside influence—this time the West.

To the north of Indo-China an extremely significant war was fought between the British and the Chinese from 1839 to 1842. The first Opium War ended in a defeat for the Chinese which was only to be the first of many such defeats. One of the weapons which contributed to the British victory was an iron-hulled, paddle-wheel steamer with two large guns. The *Nemesis* was a symbol of the technological and industrial revolution that was to make the nations of the West masters of the world. While the West was experiencing a tremendous surge in wealth and power, the rest of the world was still following its traditional paths. The imbalance was simply too great; for a couple of generations, at least, the less-developed nations did not have the means to stand up to the new industrial

powers. Weapons that had been adequate for centuries suddenly became obsolete in the face of gun boats and repeating rifles. One by one the countries of Africa and Asia fell to outside rule.

The western nations wanted colonies for any number of reasons, from prestige to a source of raw materials. It was Indo-China's fate to become part of the French empire. The impact of less than a hundred years of French rule was to bring greater changes than the preceding 1,000 years. Where agriculture had once been the main economic activity, factories and mines were going to grow up. Railways, steamships, and telegraphs were going to link the people of Indo-China to a much wider world than they had known before. New, modern cities were going to spring up beside older urban centres. The old institutions of society, the family, the village, were going to to be weakened. And new ideas like Marxism were going to challenge traditional beliefs.

To begin to grasp the extent of the change, it is necessary to consider what Indo-China was like when the French first started to move in. They found hierarchical societies in which relationships between people were organized in terms of superior to inferior—a husband to a wife, a father to his children, an official to a peasant. Everyone knew his or her place and the obligations that went along with it. Those with authority, whether kings or priests, were expected to exercise it; the role of those in inferior positions was to obey. Although there were tensions and frequent open conflicts, Indo-China's societies were strengthened in their cohesiveness both by Buddhism, which emphasized the need to accept one's fate, and by Confucianism, which stressed the ideal of social harmony above all others.

When the French arrived they found few cities. Most Indo-Chinese lived in the countryside and most were peasants. Although some trade and some manufacturing took place, the chief economic activity was agriculture. Travel was difficult except along the coast and a few of the larger rivers, so for the great majority of Indo-China's people the world consisted of their village and its immediate surroundings. And their first loyalties were to their families and their localities. The emperor or the king was a remote figure and, on the whole, his rule did not weigh too heavily on the villages.

In all three countries in Indo-China, the rulers were considered to have a semi-divine or even a divine status. The Vietnamese took over the Chinese idea and talked of their emperor having the Mandate of Heaven. Like the Chinese emperors, he was supposed to rule over his subjects like a benevolent father. To help him, he had civil servants (or mandarins) who were chosen through an elaborate examination system which was also based on the Chinese model. Although in

theory, any clever boy could become a mandarin, in practice only sons of rich, land-owning families could afford to study for years. These families, who were to be pushed aside when the French took over, were to play an important part in Vietnamese resistance to foreign rule.

The first French came to Indo-China as traders and missionaries in the 17th century; the idea of building an empire there developed slowly over the next 100 years. By the end of the 18th century a small lobby was arguing that France should take over Indo-China to exploit the wealth that was supposed to be there and to compensate for France's loss of India which had gone to the British, along with Canada, in 1763. Vietnam at the time was caught up in one of its civil wars and some of the French on the spot saw an opportunity to intervene to France's advantage.

In 1786 a French bishop in Vietnam decided to raise help in France for a young Vietnamese prince who was trying to win back control of his country from rebellious subjects. The French government was too preoccupied with its own troubles (the French Revolution was about to break out) to do anything, so the bishop scraped together a private army. With its help, the prince, now the emperor Gia-Long, pacified Vietnam. The French had considerable influence in Vietnam but still did not rule any part of it directly.

Gia-Long's successors, in fact, turned on the French and began to persecute both the missionaries and the large number of Vietnamese Catholics. They might have got away with it earlier but the outside world was changing. France was a long way away but it now had gun boats. From the 1840s, Vietnam's independence was fast ebbing away. The gun boats came more and more frequently to punish the Vietnamese for harassing Christians, and to extend French influence.

From the middle of the century onwards, the French were becoming increasingly interested in building an empire in Indo-China. In part, this was because they were searching for backdoor routes into south China; in part, because they were getting caught up in the general scramble for colonies. By 1867, the whole of south Vietnam (which they called Cochin China) was theirs and by 1883 the rest of Vietnam had been made into the colonies of Annam and Tongking. Cambodia had already been taken over by 1863 (probably the only thing which saved it from being absorbed by Vietnam). Laos remained under the control of Thailand (or Siam as it was known then) until 1893 when the French found an excuse to add it to their possessions.

The Vietnamese, whose sense of nationalism was already strongly developed, did not accept French rule meekly. After 1883 the first of what were to be a series of

bitter rebellions broke out. For 14 years, the young emperor and a group of mandarins fought the French. As was to be the case in later struggles between the Vietnamese and foreign armies, these 19th century nationalists waged a guerrilla war with considerable support from the peasants. In the long run, however, they could not hope to win against France with its superiority in technology and organization. It was in the 20th century, when they adapted themselves to new weapons and new methods, that Vietnamese nationalists were to become a more equal match for the French.

In a sense, the French, by introducing western technology and western ideas into Indo-China, prepared the way for their own downfall. In helping to change society, and this was particularly true in Vietnam, they made possible the growth of a formidable nationalist movement. One striking example of this is in education. The French set up a system of French schools to replace the traditional schools. Only a minority of Vietnamese ever went to them and only a handful ever got to the one university in Vietnam, but this western-educated elite was to play an important part in turning the weapons of the rulers against them.

In the economic field, too, French rule brought changes which helped to break down the traditional patterns in Vietnam. With new communications (for example the railway) more Vietnamese became aware of the wider world outside their villages. With the development of industries, too, peasants began to move into the cities. The north, in particular, became industrialized with mines—coal, zinc, tin—and manufacturing. Agriculture changed too. Fertilizers and improved methods increased rice production to the point where Vietnam became the third largest exporter of rice in the world. New cash crops, coffee for example, were developed for the export market. The French planters prospered; so too did some Vietnamese landowners. It is not clear that ordinary peasants were better off. The introduction of western medicine and hygiene contributed to a sharp increase in the population which meant that the land was having to support more and more people. In addition, taxes were fairly heavy which caused more and more peasants to fall into the hands of the money lenders. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the majority of Vietnamese were worse off by the time of the Second World War than their ancestors had been 100 years earlier.

The changes introduced by the French brought a growth in the Chinese minority as well. Improved communications coupled with the fact that China was politically unstable and economically backward brought thousands of Chinese to Vietnam in the 19th and early 20th centuries to seek their fortunes. Although there continued to be some inter-marriage with the local inhabitants, these new Chinese immigrants tended to cluster in predominantly Chinese communities in the cities and towns. In Vietnam, they were concentrated in the south. By 1975

there may have been as many as a million and a half. Before the recent fighting, the other Indo-Chinese country with a substantial Chinese community was Cambodia; there the Chinese numbered about 350,000.

Most of the Chinese were involved in commerce, as middlemen between the farmers and the merchants or as money-lenders. In Vietnam, the Chinese controlled most of the internal sugar and rice trade. Not surprisingly, perhaps, their relative prosperity excited some jealousy. In addition, although many of them had been in Vietnam for generations, there was a tendency among some of the Vietnamese to regard them as aliens. The position of the Chinese was not helped by the fact that the nationalist government of China, the Kuomintang, insisted in the 1920s and 1930s on its right to protect any Chinese living outside China.

There were many unexpected consequences of French rule and one of the most significant was in the field of ideas. The French ruled Indo-China with a firm hand but they could not keep out western ideas of democracy and self-government. Laos and Cambodia remained fairly quiet backwaters but Vietnam produced all sorts of political movements in which ideas from outside were grafted on to traditional Vietnamese nationalism. Some of the results were strange—like the Cao Dai, a political and religious movement in south Vietnam which combined Buddhism with a selection of saints that included Moses and Winston Churchill. In other cases, more straightforward political parties were set up calling themselves anarchist, or liberal, or conservative.

The political party that was to outlast all others, however, was the Communist, which was led, from its founding in 1930 until his death in 1969, by Ho Chi Minh. It first appeared as the Indo-Chinese Communist Party but it has had various names and guises. In 1941, for example, it became the League for Revolution and Independence, or Viet Minh. In the late 1950s, when the government of South Vietnam came under attack, the local Communists called themselves the National Liberation Front and their fighting forces were known as the Viet Cong. Two things remain fairly clear, however, in spite of the changes in name: the Indo-China Communist Party has always remained Marxist and it has always been firmly under the control of the north Vietnamese. The Viet Cong were always subject to the authority of their comrades to the north. And until the last few years, apparently, Cambodian and Laotian Communists have had little independence; their interests were always subordinated to those of the Vietnamese.

There are several reasons why Marxism, at least in the form expounded by Lenin, had an appeal in Vietnam and other colonies. It offered an explanation for their loss of independence and it promised a way to regain it: colonies are exploited by the rich capitalist nations of the world but if their people, from businessmen to

peasants, fight together they can throw off foreign rule. The message was one that emphasized nationalism more than social revolution. The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 gave a considerable stimulus to the spread of Marx's and Lenin's ideas throughout the empires of the West. The Russians themselves did what they could to encourage this, both on principle and because they needed friends wherever they could find them.

In Vietnam, in the inter-war years, more and more young nationalists turned to the Communist Party when less revolutionary methods seemed doomed to fail. The French authorities, foolishly as it turned out, resisted even very moderate demands by the Vietnamese for political participation. In addition, the French police cracked down on all but the most innocuous political organizations. The Communists, who had organized themselves after the Russian model with a strongly disciplined party, were forced to go underground. They at least had some chance of surviving; many of their rivals, who were organized in a looser fashion, did not. Even the first meeting of the Indo-Chinese Party was held in secret—at an extremely exciting soccer game in Hong Kong where the noise of the crowd covered the deliberations of the revolutionaries.

The French police managed to uncover a good many Communists in the 1930's but they never managed to destroy the party's network in Indo-China completely. And they never quite succeeded in laying hands on Ho Chi Minh, to use the last of his many aliases. He was the man above all others who kept the Communist party together in the years when it looked as if the French would never be dislodged from Indo-China. In a way Ho (in the Chinese fashion his last name comes first) symbolizes the marriage of deeply-rooted Vietnamese nationalism with new political methods; he came from a line of mandarins and his father had indeed retired from the government rather than serve the French.

The real chance for the Communists came with the Second World War when the affairs of Indo-China got mixed up in a larger struggle. France was stunningly defeated by the Germans in 1940. A part of France was left under the rule of the pro-Nazi Vichy government and Indo-China got a French governor appointed from Vichy. The vestiges of independence were more apparent than real; the Vichy authorities whether in France or Indo-China were bound to be responsive to the wishes of the Germans and their Japanese allies. The Japanese had already occupied large chunks of China; they now prepared to expand into other parts of Asia. They began to demand concessions from the Vichy administration in Indo-China that included the right to station large numbers of troops there and the use of Vietnam's airfields. Although this Japanese move was to be one of the factors that finally led them into a confrontation with the Americans, in 1940 and 1941 the French had no support from outside. Vichy France capitulated to

Japanese demands and Indo-China came increasingly under the sway of Japan. When Pearl Harbour brought the Americans into the war against the Japanese at the end of 1941, it was too late for Indo-China. The Japanese allowed the French administration to continue functioning until March 1945, when they dismissed them (often into prison camps) and ruled Indo-China directly. This was to be the final blow to the already shaky French prestige in Indo-China.

While the French were fading, the nationalists, particularly the Vietnamese and more particularly the Vietnamese Communists, were growing. From 1943 on, the Communists, known now as the Viet Minh, built an underground resistance network in north Vietnam. They were able to operate comparatively safely from Chinese nationalist territory since they were temporarily fighting on the same side as Chiang K'ai-Shek and his Kuomintang. Indeed the Viet Minh even profited briefly from American help in the form of weapons and advisers. In the long run, of course, Ho Chi Minh realized that he could not count on much help from the Chinese nationalists or the Americans when it came to the struggle against the French that was likely to follow after the Japanese had been defeated. The most he could hope for would be their neutrality. As the Second World War wound down, Ho tried to move his forces into positions of power in Vietnam before the French had a chance to get re-established. The Japanese surrendered on August 10, 1945; by September 2, Ho was able to proclaim (in words that echoed the American Declaration of Independence) the independence of "the Democratic Republic of Vietnam". He almost got away with it.

The French, now led by General de Gaulle, were determined to recover their colonies but the Second World War had left them in no position to mount a sustained military effort. Moreover the Americans, who might have been expected to help them, were still taking the attitude that the former colonial powers should relinquish their ill-gotten gains. In 1945, the Communist menace was still not seen as a serious threat.

In the north of Vietnam, the French could do little at first to stop Ho. Under an agreement made between the Allies during the war, north Vietnam was to be occupied by the nationalist Chinese for a brief period after the Japanese surrender. The Chinese troops showed themselves to be far more interested in looting than in blocking a take-over of power by the Viet Minh.

The picture was different in the south where the occupying forces were British. Possibly because they wanted support from the French when it came to dealing with their colonies, the British, or at least their representatives on the spot, worked with the French to put down any moves towards Vietnamese independence

By 1946, the French appeared to be firmly back in control in south Vietnam and in Laos and Cambodia as well. They prepared to move north.

For Ho Chi Minh the prospects were gloomy. Apart from the doubtful element of the Chinese nationalists, he had no friends. Russia, later a strong ally, was occupied in consolidating its hold over eastern Europe; the Chinese Communists were concentrated thousands of miles away around their bases in north China and were themselves fighting for their lives against the nationalists; and the Americans, who might just have been sympathetic to an independence movement, were not the slightest bit interested in Vietnam at that stage. Early in 1946 the government leaders in north Vietnam discussed the situation. One faction apparently argued that they should ask the Chinese nationalists to stay and fight against the French for them. Ho argued back, in words that must have been used before and since: "You fools! Don't you realize what it means if the Chinese stay? Don't you remember our history? The last time the Chinese came, they stayed one thousand years!" His argument that they should come to terms with the French, who at least had the merit of being a far-off power, was the one that prevailed.

In March of 1946 the French and the Viet Minh signed an agreement to the effect that the French would recognize the independence of North Vietnam within a Union of Indo-China. In return French troops were to come back to the north for five years. The agreement probably never had a chance; it is doubtful whether either side was satisfied with it. At the end of the year, fighting broke out in north Vietnam between the Viet Minh and French troops. The First Indo-China War, which was to end with the defeat of the French in 1954, had begun.

At first it was by no means clear that the French would lose. France was still a great industrial and military power by comparison with Vietnam and the French military were burning to avenge their humiliation in the Second World War. The Viet Minh retired into the countryside where they had some strength but until 1949 the French appeared to be making some progress in rooting them out. In that year, however, the international situation shifted dramatically and not in France's favor on the whole.

To begin with, China went Communist. This meant that the Vietnamese Communists now had sanctuaries on the northern border of Vietnam where they could train and resupply their troops. They also began to receive arms from both the Chinese and the Russians. The second major change was that the United States now firmly abandoned its post-war isolationism. This was partly as a consequence of events in Europe where the Cold War between the two super-powers was already in full swing but also because of the victory of Communism in China. The

Americans prepared to resist further Communist advances. In 1950 they were drawn into a full-scale war in Korea; suddenly, as a result, the French struggle in Indo-China was perceived by them no longer as a colonial war but as part of the world-wide battle against Communism. They began to send aid to the French in increasing amounts.

By that stage, it was probably too late. The French armies were losing control of the countryside. By 1953 Ho Chi Minh's forces held most of north Vietnam outside the cities. In 1954 the battle of Dien Bien Phu, which was intended by the French strategists to annihilate the Viet Minh, ground inexorably towards a French defeat. The government in France prepared to bow to increasingly hostile public opinion at home and to pull out of Vietnam. The French lost the war partly because they could not win it militarily but also because the French people were no longer prepared to bear its cost.

In April of 1954, the Geneva conference attempted to settle the affairs of Indo-China. Laos and Cambodia, which had been little touched by the fighting, were to become neutral states, free from outside interference. Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel with North Vietnam becoming a Communist state and South Vietnam a partially democratic one. Free elections were supposed to be held in July 1956 so that the Vietnamese could reunite under a government of their choice; in the event, the elections were not held, mainly because of the objections of the American-supported President in the south, Ngo Dinh Diem. To ensure that the various provisions of the Geneva agreement were kept, an International Control Commission was set up with India, Poland and Canada as members. This marked Canada's first direct involvement in the affairs of Indo-China.

The agreement did not bring peace for long. The basic problem was that the north was determined to unite Vietnam under Communist rule, and the south (or at least important groups there which included some 860,000 refugees, mainly Catholic, who had fled from the north) was equally determined to prevent that. Both sides had important friends who were prepared to provide them with aid. South Vietnam had the United States. North Vietnam had both Russia and China, although it was to have a difficult time keeping a balance between them, especially after 1959 when relations between Russia and China began to worsen. Today Vietnam is firmly in the Russian camp; its old fear of China makes Russia a preferable ally.

Since Ngo Dinh Diem's government in the south failed to rally much political support or to make much needed reforms, the Communists found fertile ground for winning recruits. After 1959 they were strong enough to start attacking government officials. The Americans, who by now were heavily committed to

maintaining the independence of South Vietnam, responded with increased aid and by sending more military advisers. Bit by bit the Americans found themselves dragged into a full-scale involvement. In 1962 there were over 16,000 American military advisers in Vietnam; by 1970 there were more than 500,000 regular troops. In the end the war was to cost the United States over $100 billion dollars and the lives of 56,000 of its soldiers. Still the Americans like the French, were unable to win.

In many ways the American experience in Vietman is parallel to that of the French. The Americans, too, fought a war which they could not win militarily and which became increasingly unpopular at home. Public pressure and open protest in the United States led President Nixon to reduce the American commitment after 1969 and to initiate peace talks in Paris with the North Vietnamese. By 1973 a ceasefire had been arranged and the United States ended its direct participation in the fighting between north and south. The forces of South Vietnam were given large amounts of American weapons which, it was hoped, would enable them to hold off attacks by the troops of North Vietnam and their allies in the south, the Vietcong. The policy did not work. In 1975 the last government of South Vietnam fell and Vietnam was reunited.

In the meantime, Laos and Cambodia which had enjoyed an uneasy neutrality had been dragged into the final stages of the war. In 1970 the United States had invaded Cambodia in a search for North Vietnamese bases and had encouraged the overthrow of Cambodia's neutralist leader, Prince Sihanouk. In 1971 the forces of South Vietnam had invaded Laos with similar aims in mind. After 1973 both countries experienced fighting between their American-supported governments and their own Communist movements. In 1975 Laos and Cambodia also went Communist.

Almost at once the traditional enmities reappeared in spite of the common Communist label. The Cambodians disputed their common border with the Vietnamese. Since the Vietnamese were a close ally of Russia's, the Cambodians drew closer to China, which was in turn looking for allies to counter-balance Russian influence in the area. There were border skirmishes in 1977; in December 1978 the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in force, and they still remain there today. At the same time relations were worsening between Vietnam and China; the Vietnamese started to evict into China Chinese who were living in north Vietnam, and the Chinese cut off their aid to Vietnam and increased their support of Cambodia. In February 1979, China invaded Vietnam "to teach it a lesson".

All this fighting has only helped to make worse a refugee problem which was already severe. After 1975 a great many Indo-Chinese had found it impossible to live under the new regimes. Middle class people, especially those who had in any

way been connected with the old governments, were particularly harshly treated by the Communists. In all three countries, they were expected to atone for their pasts; many were sent to prison or to labor camps. The behavior of the Cambodian Communists, or Khmer Rouge, was extraordinarily cruel. They seem to have been trying to rebuild Cambodian society from scratch. The cities were emptied, the economy destroyed, and family and religious ties suppressed. It is not known how many people died. Those who could fled from all three countries.

Since the end of 1978 the number of refugees leaving Vietnam has shown a sudden increase. Most leave by boat, apparently with the connivance if not also the encouragement of the government. They have different motives for leaving. Some are members of the former capitalist or landowning classes who cannot fit into the new society. Some are said to be former members of the Viet Cong who find that Vietnamese from the north dominate the new Vietnam just as they dominated the independence movement. A few are even Communists from the north who do not like the way Vietnam is headed. About 80 per cent of them are Chinese who mainly fall into the first category—former members of the propertied classes.

The motives of the Vietnam government are less clear. It may be that they simply want to get rid of those who are too tied to the old ways. Letting them go after forcing them to disgorge their savings—usually in the form of gold—is a way of getting them out and of raising money. Vietnam is in a dreadful economic state. The war with the United States brought destruction on a huge scale; Vietnam, for example, is the third most heavily bombed country in the history of warfare. There has not been much opportunity since to start the work of reconstruction. And the wars with its neighbors have been expensive for Vietnam. The Russians give aid but only at a price. The fact that so many of the refugees are Chinese, however, could suggest that there is also a racist component in the attitude of the Vietnamese. The Chinese appear to be a scapegoat on which all the problems of the regime can be focused. They are former capitalists and they are representatives of the enemy to the north.

The refugees are hurried on their way by the government of Vietnam. Unfortunately no other Asian country wants them. There is no question for most of them of going to China, another Communist society, but the capitalists do not want them either. The other Asian nations feel that they have enough economic problems already without having to care for huge numbers of refugees. Malaysia, where many have already landed, has to cope with a population that is balanced tensely between Chinese and non-Chinese. Both Malaysia and Thailand have now started to turn refugees away. This puts pressure on the rest of the world to do something.

It is pressure to which the Canadian people and the Canadian government have been responsive. Jacques Gignac, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, summed up this country's position in December 1978 in the following statement:

Canada is a country of long-standing humanitarian traditions. We have historically considered that a tragedy of great human proportions, whether it involved people with whom we had close historical links or otherwise, was nonetheless a matter of concern to us.

Indeed Canada's new Immigration Act incorporates obligations that we have assumed as a result of acceding to the Refugee Convention and Protocol. In Geneva, in July 1979, Canada announced its further response to the problem when External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald said that this country would take 50,000 refugees by the end of 1980. Private citizens have also been responding; different groups across Canada are preparing to sponsor refugees.

The refugees from Indo-China are the innocent victims of the past; they are not responsible for the hereditary rivalries between the area's nations and they are not responsible for the regimes that have emerged there. Yet they are the ones who are paying the price for the years of bitterness and struggle. They are being forced from their homes through no fault of their own and the only place that they can turn to for help is the international community.

Suggestions for further reading

Chester A. Bain, *Vietnam: the Roots of Conflict* (New Jersey, 1967)
Joseph Buttinger, *A Dragon Defiant: a short history of Vietnam* (New York, 1972)
John F. Cady, *Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia* (New Jersey, 1966)
Bernard Fall, *The Two Vietnams: a Political and Military Analysis,* 2nd revised ed. (New York, 1967)
---------- *Vietnam Witness, 1953-66* (New York, 1966)
Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake: the Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (New York, 1972)
Marvin E. Gettleman, *Vietnam: History, Documents and Opinions on a Major World Crisis* (New York, 1965)
Fred R. von der Mehden, *South-East Asia 1930-1970* (London, 1974)
Steven Warshaw, *Southeast Asia Emerges* (Berkeley and San Francisco, 1975)

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Sources of information for Southeast Asian refugee settlement in Ontario

General information sources

Local centres of Employment and Immigration Canada are listed in the telephone directory under Government of Canada.

For information concerning privately sponsored refugees, contact the local Canada Immigration Centre.

For information concerning government sponsored refugees, contact the local Canada Employment Centre.

Employment

Contact the local Canada Employment Centre.

For Toronto, contact:

Operation Lifeline
2nd Floor, 8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 965-0744

Vietnamese Association
8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 368-1030

Counselling

See listing of Community Information Centres and Immigration Aid Agencies for your community.

Ontario Welcome House
Ministry of Culture and Recreation
8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 965-3021

Health

Contact the local Medical Officer of Health.

Education

Contact the regional offices of the Ministry of Education.

Mrs. Carole Olsen
Regional Office
Central Ontario Region
Heron's Hill Building
Suite 3201
2025 Sheppard Avenue East
Willowdale, M2J 1W4
Tel: (416) 491-0330

Mr. Gordon Heymans
Regional Office
Eastern Ontario Region
4th Floor, 1580 Merivale Road
Ottawa, K2G 4B5
Tel: (613) 225-9210

Mr. Ron Side
Regional Office
Western Ontario Region
759 Hyde Park Road
London, N6H 3S6
Tel: (519) 472-1440

Mrs. Lucie M. Dupuis-Larocque
Regional Office
Northeastern Ontario Region
Box 3020
North Bay, P1B 8K7
Tel: (705) 474-7210

Mrs. Jo-Anne Turner
Regional Office
Northwestern Ontario Region
Box 5000
Thunder Bay, P7C 5G6
Tel: (807) 475-1581

Mr. Paul E. Tikkanen
Regional Office
Midnorthern Ontario Region
1349 Lasalle Boulevard
Sudbury, P3A 1Z5
Tel: (705) 566-3480

Mr. Robert Hunter
Policy Liaison and Legislation Branch
Ministry of Education
Room 1557, Mowat Block
900 Bay Street
Toronto, M7A 1L2

Further information on existing programs for adults is available through the local Ministry of Culture and Recreation field office (see listing) or the Indo-Chinese Refugee Settlement Unit, Information team, Ontario Welcome House, 4th Floor, 8 York Street, Toronto (416) 965-9268.

Reviewing of available materials, literature

Visit the local public library, Ministry of Culture and Recreation field office or the Community Information Centre.

For a more extensive collection of materials and literature, visit the Ministry of Culture and Recreation Resource Centre, 9th Floor, 77 Bloor Street West, Toronto, or the Indo-Chinese Refugee Settlement Unit, Ontario Welcome House, 4th Floor, 8 York Street, Toronto.

Housing

Mr. Garinther
Ontario Regional Office
Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
Suite 22E, 2255 Sheppard Avenue East
Willowdale, M2J 1W7
Tel: (416) 498-7300

Private sponsorship information

Operation Lifeline — Provincial
2nd Floor, 8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 965-0744

Co-ordination of refugee settlement

Indo-Chinese Refugee Settlement Unit
Ministry of Culture and Recreation
4th Floor, 8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 965-9268

General information, materials, mailing list —
Information Team (416) 965-9283

Support and consultation for integration activities, teacher training, community language classes, public education and intercultural activities — Community Liaison Team — Co-ordinator: Edna Rigby (416) 965-9268

Toronto and surrounding area

Vivienne Yang
8th Floor, 700 Bay Street
Toronto, M7A 2R9
Tel: (416) 965-0283

Peterborough and surrounding area

Joan Becks
2nd Floor, 340 George Street North
Peterborough, K9H 7E8
Tel: (705) 748-3202

Barrie and surrounding area

Anne Allison
114 Worsley Street
Barrie, L4M 1M1
Tel: (705) 737-3301

Ottawa

Margaret Verma
11th Floor, 1 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, K1N 7B7
Tel: (613) 566-3721

Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Guelph and surrounding area

Arlene MacMullen
2nd Floor
1083 Barton Street East
Hamilton, L8L 3E2
Tel: (416) 549-2471

Ministry of Culture and Recreation Field Services

Northwest Region

2nd Floor
1825 Arthur Street East
Thunder Bay, P7E 5N7
Tel: (807) 475-1255

479 Government Road
Box 3000
Dryden, P8N 3B3
Tel: (807) 223-2271

Northeast Region

215 Oak Street East
North Bay, P1B 1A2
Tel: (705) 474-3821

3rd Floor, 390 Bay Street
Sault Ste. Marie, P6A 1X2
Tel: (705) 942-3751

1760 Regent Street South
Sudbury, P3E 3Z8
Tel: (705) 522-1416

2nd Floor
22 Wilcox Street
Timmins, P4N 3K6
Tel: (705) 267-7117

Eastern Region

11th Floor
1 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, K1N 7B7
Tel: (613) 566-3721

Suite 3
280 Pinnacle Street
Belleville, K8N 3B1
Tel: (613) 968-3474
(613) 968-5377

Suite 304
1055 Princess Street
Kingston, K7L 5T3
Tel: (613) 542-7349

Central East Region

8th Floor
700 Bay Street
Toronto, M7A 2R9
Tel: (416) 965-0283
(416) 965-3392

114 Worsley Street
Barrie, L4M 1M1
Tel: (705) 737-3301

305 Stewart St.
Peterborough, K9J 3N2
Tel: (705) 748-3711

Central West Region

2nd Floor
1083 Barton Street East
Hamilton, L8L 3E2
Tel: (416) 549-2471

Suite 301
71 King Street
St. Catharines, L2R 3H7
Tel: (416) 688-6472

55 Erb Street East
Waterloo, N2J 4K8
Tel: (519) 886-3520

Southwest Region

5th Floor
495 Richmond Street
London, N6A 5A9
Tel: (519) 438-2947

427 Tenth Street
Hanover, N4N 1P8
Tel: (519) 364-1626

6th Floor
250 Windsor Avenue
Windsor, N9A 6V9
Tel: (519) 256-4919

Community Information, Immigrant Aid Service Centres outside Metropolitan Toronto

Amherstburg

Amherstburg, Anderdon and Malden
Community Service Centre
272 Sandwich Street South
Amherstburg, N9V 2A6
Tel: (519) 736-5471
AAM Community Services Directory

Ancaster

Ancaster Information Centre
314 Wilson Street East
Ancaster, L9G 2B9
Tel: (416) 648-6675
Directory of the Town of Ancaster

Aylmer
Community Information and Help Centre
49 Talbot Street East
Aylmer, N5H 1H3
Tel: (519) 773-5301
Community Resources Directory

Mennonite Central Committee
50 Talbot Street East
Aylmer, N5H 1H4
Tel: (519) 773-2051
Contact: Mr. Friesen

Barrie

Information Barrie
37 Mulcaster Street
Barrie, L4M 3M2
Tel: (705) 728-2662

Interfaith Immigration Committee
135 Letitia Street
Barrie, L4N 1P4
Tel: (705) 728-4001

Belleville

Quinte Information and Assistance Centre
27 Campbell Street
Belleville, K8N 1S6
Tel: (613) 962-9218

Volunteer Bureau
240 William Street
Belleville, K8N 3K3
Tel: (613) 962-1355

Brampton

Information Brampton
Brampton Public Library
150 Central Park Drive
Bramalea, L6T 1B4
Tel: (416) 457-9612

St. Mary's Community Centre
66 Main Street South
Brampton, L6W 2C6
Tel: (416) 457-7740

Brantford

Brant Regional Citizenship Council
50 Dalhousie Street
Box 604
Brantford, N3T 2H8
Tel: (519) 753-6226

Education Information Centre
16 Market Street
P.O. Box 113
Brantford, N3T 5M3
Tel: (519) 753-3171

Burlington

Burlington Social Planning Council
368B Brant Street
Burlington, L7R 2E8
Tel: (416) 639-4804
Directory of Community Services

Information Burlington
2331 New Street
Burlington, L7R 1J4
Tel: (416) 639-4212

Cambridge

Cambridge Portuguese Information Centre
23 Ainslie Street South
Cambridge, N1R 3J9
Tel: (519) 621-1621

Cannington

Information Simcoe
30 Allan Street
Box 131
Cannington, L0E 1E0
Tel: (705) 432-2636

Chatham

Information Kent
Room 201, 48 Fifth Street
Chatham, N7M 4V8
Tel: (519) 351-1377

Cobourg

SHARE Information Centre
P.O. Box 632
Cobourg, K9A 4L3
Tel: (416) 372-8913

Collingwood

Georgian Bay District Contact Centre
125 Napier Street
Collingwood, L9Y 3T1
Tel: (705) 445-0641

Cornwall

Vietnamese Orientation and Language Program
General Vanier Secondary School
1500 Cumberland Street
Cornwall, K6J 4K9
Tel: (613) 933-5500

Dundas

Information Dundas
10 Market Street South
Dundas, L9H 5G4
Tel: (416) 627-3557

Ear Falls

Ear Falls Information
Box 173
Ear Falls, P0V 1T0
Tel: (807) 222-3264

Elmira

Woolwich Community Information Centre
69 Arthur Street South
Elmira, N3B 2M8
Tel: (519) 669-5139

Essex

Community Information Essex
115 Talbot Street North
Essex, N8M 2C5
Tel: (519) 776-6262

Fort Erie

Community Information Service
Fort Erie Public Library
136 Gilmour Rd.
Fort Erie, L2A 2M1
Tel: (416) 871-1777

Guelph

Guelph Information
161 Waterloo Avenue
Guelph, N1H 3H9
Tel: (519) 821-0632

Guelph and District Multicultural Council
Box 1536
Guelph
Tel: (519) 836-2222

Hamilton

Operation Lifeline, Hamilton
Mrs. Leonor Sorger
63 Chedoke Avenue
Hamilton
Tel: (416) 523-4031
(416) 525-5645

Hamilton and District Central Information Service
Suite 609, 42 James Street North
Hamilton, L8R 2K2
Tel: (416) 528-0104
Directory of Community and Social Services

Hamilton Multicultural Centre
35 Catharine Street South
Hamilton, L8N 2J1
Tel: (416) 528-0258

Vietnamese Voluntary Group of Hamilton
c/o 35 St. Catharines Street South
Hamilton, L8N 2V1
Tel: (416) 527-2513

Strathcona Community Centre
152 Locke Street North
Hamilton, L8R 3A9
Tel: (416) 527-4572

Iroquois Falls

Town of Iroquois Falls, Recreation Department
Box 460, Synagogue Street
Iroquois Falls, P0K 1E0
Tel: (705) 258-3423

Kingston

Community Volunteer Bureau
Suite 109, 310 Bagot Street
Kingston, K7K 3B6
Tel: (613) 542-7316 or 542-6522

Kitchener

Community Information Centre
18 Queen Street North
Kitchener, N2H 2G8
Tel: (519) 579-3800

Kitchener-Waterloo Regional Folk Arts Council
Multicultural Centre
20 Queen Street North
Kitchener, N2H 2G8
Tel: (519) 745-2531

Leamington

South Essex Community Council
88 Erie Street South
Leamington, N8H 3B3
Tel: (519) 326-8629

London

Crouch Neighbourhood Resource Centre
550 Hamilton Road
London, N5Z 1S4
Tel: (519) 673-0111

Cross Cultural Learners Centre
533 Clarence Street
London, N6A 3N1
Tel: (519) 679-6281

London Folk Arts Council
1 Christie Street
London, N6A 3Y7
Tel: (519) 432-5666

Information London
Suite 109, 294 Dundas Street
London, N6B 1T6
Tel: (519) 432-2211

The S.E. Asian Refugee Committee for London
300 Dufferin Avenue
P.O. Box 5035
London
Tel: (519) 679-6281

YM-YWCA (Central Branch)
433 Wellington Street
London, N6A 3P7
Tel: (519) 432-3706

Markham

Information Markham
199 Main Street North
Markham, L3P 1Y4
Tel: (416) 294-4300

Midland

Midland Contact Centre
Box 423
Midland, L4R 4L1
Tel: (705) 526-9333

Social Planning Council of Peel
Suite 105, 93 Dundas Street East
Mississauga, L5A 1W7
Tel: (416) 270-2272

Newmarket

Administrative Branch
Dept. of Health and Social Services
Regional Municipality of York
22 Prospect Street
Newmarket, L3Y 2F9
Tel: (416) 898-1551

Niagara Falls

Information Niagara
5017 Victoria Avenue
Niagara Falls, L2E 4C9
Tel: (416) 356-4636

Volunteer Bureau (Niagara)
Community Resources Centre
5017 Victoria Avenue
Niagara Falls, L2E 4C9
Tel: (416) 357-0300

North Bay

Volunteer Action Centre
134 McIntyre Street East
P.O. Box 1414
North Bay, P1B 8G8
Tel: (705) 476-1336

Oakville

Information Central
Oakville Public Library
120 Navy Street
Oakville, L6J 2Z4
Tel: (416) 845-3255

The Oakville and District Social Planning Council
329 Lakeshore Road East
P.O. Box 163
Oakville, L6J 1J4
Tel: (416) 844-7705

Orangeville

Information Bureau Dufferin
70 First Street
Orangeville, L9W 2E5
Tel: (519) 941-6931

Orillia

Information Orillia
18 Peter Street North
Orillia, L3V 4Y7
Tel: (705) 326-7743

Oshawa

Information Oshawa
Arts Resource Centre
Civic Administration Complex
50 Centre Street South
Oshawa, L1H 3Z7
Tel: (416) 728-6233

Oshawa YWCA
199 Centre Street South
Oshawa, L1H 4A8
Tel: (416) 576-8880

Ottawa

Community Information Centre
Ottawa-Carleton
377 Rideau Street
Ottawa, K1N 5Y6
Tel: (613) 238-2101

Dalhousie Community Service Centre
43 Eccles Street
Ottawa, K1R 6S3
Tel: (613) 238-8210

The Ottawa Carleton Immigrant Services Organization
425 Gloucester Street
Ottawa, K1R 5E9
Tel: (613) 238-4256

Information Gloucester
2339 Ogilvie Road, Lower Level
Beacon Hill North Shopping Centre
Ottawa, K1J 8M6
Tel: (613) 741-0770

Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre
437 Gilmour Street
Ottawa, K2P 0R5
Tel: (613) 232-2877

Project 4000
400 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, K1R 5C6
Tel: (613) 563-3394

Ottawa Interfaith Committee on Immigrants
c/o Catholic Immigrant Services
256 King Edward Avenue
Ottawa, K1N 7M1
Tel: (613) 237-4540

Owen Sound

Owen Sound Public Library
824 1st Avenue West
Owen Sound, N4K 4K4
Tel: (519) 376-6623

YM-YWCA
640 Second Avenue East
Owen Sound, N4K 2G8
Tel: (519) 376-0484

Perth

Lanark Country Community Resources File
Perth and District High School
13 Victoria Street
Perth, K7H 2H3
Tel: (613) 267-3051

Peterborough

Peterborough Information Centre and Volunteer Bureau
165 King Street
Peterborough, K9J 2R8
Tel: (705) 743-2523

Richmond Hill

Helpmate Information
10 Trench Street
Richmond Hill, L4C 4Z3
Tel: (416) 883-2234

St. Catharines

Community Counselling Services
76 Queenston Street
St. Catharines, L2R 2Z2
Tel: (416) 688-1934

Folk Arts Council Multicultural Centre of St. Catharines
185 Bunting Road
P.O. Box 1223
St. Catharines, L2M 3Y2
Tel: (416) 685-6589

Information Niagara
85 Church Street
St. Catharines, L2E 4C9
Tel: (416) 682-6611

St. Thomas

St. Thomas/Elgin Information Services
538 Talbot Street
St. Thomas, N5P 1C4
Tel: (519) 631-1100

Sarnia

Information Sarnia-Lambton
224 North Vidal Street
Sarnia, N7T 5Y3
Tel: (519) 336-2422

Sault Ste. Marie

Community Council Social Development Information and Referral Centre
8 Albert Street East
Sault Ste. Marie, P6A 2H6
Tel: (705) 256-7476

Interfaith Immigration Committee
c/o Precious Blood Cathedral
778 Queen Street East
Sault Ste. Marie, P6L 2B1
Tel: (705) 256-8474

Sault College of Applied Arts and Technology
Extension Services
443 Northern Avenue
P.O. Box 60
Sault Ste. Marie, P6A 5L3
Contact: Jane Bisch
Tel: (705) 942-3820

Simcoe

Community Information Centre
Haldimand-Norfolk
85 Pond Street
Simcoe, N3Y 2T5
Tel: (519) 426-6655

Stratford

Information Centre - Stratford
and District
Public Library
19 St. Andrew Street
Stratford, N5A 1A2
Tel: (519) 271-7080

Strathroy

Strathroy-Middlesex Multi-Service Centre
90 Albert Street
Strathroy, N7G 1V5
Tel: (519) 245-4330

Sudbury

Sudbury Regional Multicultural Centre
184 Cedar Street
P.O. Box 1312, Station "B"
Sudbury, P3E 1B6
Tel: (705) 674-0795

Thunder Bay

Centre for International Co-operation
Cross Cultural Learner Centre
P.O. Box 2086
Lakeshore Drive, R.R. No. 13
Thunder Bay "P", P7B 5E7
Tel: (807) 683-3801

Civic Information Centre
City Hall
500 East Donald Street
Thunder Bay "F", P7E 5V3
Tel: (807) 623-2711 Ext. 239

Concern International (Canada)
c/o Lloyed Jones
P.O. Box 2086
Lakeshore Drive, R.R. No. 13
Thunder Bay "P", P7B 5E7
Tel: (807) 983-2042

E.R.A.S. Committee
1100 Lincoln Street
Thunder Bay, P7E 5V7
Tel: (807) 623-6506

Immigrant Information Centre
Thunder Bay Multicultural Association
210 South Algoma Street
(Cornwall School - Basement)
P.O. Box 2334
Thunder Bay "P", P7B 5E9
Tel: (807) 345-0551

Lakehead Social Planning Council
409A George Street
Thunder Bay, P7E 5Y9
Tel: (807) 623-7071

Volunteer Bureau of Thunder Bay
189 Arthur Street
Thunder Bay "P", P7E 1A2
Tel: (807) 344-8081

Welland

Welland Information Service
Welland Public Library
140 King Street
Welland, L3B 3J3
Tel: (416) 734-4557

Windsor

Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County
1100 University Avenue West
Windsor, N9A 5S7
Tel: (519) 255-1127

Windsor-Essex Community Information Service
65 Wyandotte Street West
Windsor, N9A 5W6
Tel: (519) 253-2491

YM-YWCA
511 Pelissier Street
Windsor, N9A 4L2
Tel: (519) 258-9622

Woodbridge

Help Information and Referral Centre
132 Woodbridge Avenue
Woodbridge, L4L 1A8
Tel: (416) 851-2333

Woodstock

Information Oxford
Box 955
Woodstock, N4S 8A3
Tel: (519) 539-4889

YWCA
476 Peel Street
Woodstock, N4S 1K1
Tel: (519) 539-9826

Community Information, Immigrant Aid Centres in Metropolitan Toronto

Community Information Centres

Action Service Contact Centre
185 Fifth Street
Etobicoke, M8V 2Z5
Tel: (416) 255-5322

Bloor-Bathurst Information Centre
1006 Bathurst Street
Toronto, M5R 3G8
Tel: (416) 531-4613
Directory, free

Community Information Centre
of Metropolitan Toronto
110 Adelaide Street East
Toronto, M5C 1L1
Tel: (416) 863-0505

Community Information Fairview
P.O. Box 2273
1800 Sheppard Avenue East
Willowdale, M2J 4G6
Tel: (416) 493-0752

Etobicoke Central Information and Referral Centre
50 Firwood Crescent
Glen Ayr Plaza (Downstairs)
Islington, M9B 2W1
Tel: (416) 236-1886

LINK Information and Referral Service
5126 Yonge Street
Willowdale, M2N 5N9
Tel: (416) 223-9727

Neighbourhood Information Centre
81 Barrington Avenue
Toronto, M4C 4Y9
Tel: (416) 698-1626
Directory

Neighbourhood Information Post
265 Gerrard Street East
Toronto, M5A 2G3
Tel: (416) 924-2543
Directory

Parkdale Community Information Centre
Parkdale Library
1303 Queen Street West
Toronto, M6K 1L6
Tel: (416) 532-7939

Rexdale Community Information Directory
1530 Albion Road
Rexdale, M9V 1B4
Tel: (416) 741-1553
Community Services Etobicoke

General Immigrant Services

Birth Control and VD Information Centre
Suite 501
2828 Bathurst Street
Toronto, M6B 3A7
Tel: (416) 789-4541

Bloor Bathurst Information Centre
1006 Bathurst Street
Toronto, M5R 3G7
Tel: (416) 531-4613

Catholic Family Services of
Toronto Immigration Department
67 Bond Street
Toronto, M5B 1X5
Tel: (416) 362-2481

City Hall Public Information and Language Bureau
(City Clerk's Department)
100 Queen Street West
Toronto, M5H 2N2
Tel: (416) 367-7341

Coalition of Immigrant and Migrant Services
c/o A. Dharmalingam
University Settlement House
23 Grange Road
Toronto, M5T 1C3
Tel: (416) 598-3444

Cross Cultural Communication Centre
1991 Dufferin Street
Toronto, M6E 3P9
Tel: (416) 653-2223

Community Information Centre of Metro Toronto
110 Adelaide Street East
Toronto, M5C 1L1
Tel: (416) 863-0505

Eastview Neighbourhood Community Centre
86 Blake Street
Toronto, M4J 3C9
Tel: (416) 465-5469

Family Service Association
of Metro Toronto
22 Wellesley Street East
Toronto, M4Y 1G3
Tel: (416) 922-3126

Immigrant Women's Centre
33 St. George Street
Toronto, M5S 2E3
Tel: (416) 978-2564

International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
Toronto, M5S 2E3
Tel: (416) 978-2564

Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada
638A Sheppard Avenue West
Downsview, M3H 2S1
Tel: (416) 630-6481

Metropolitan Toronto Interfaith Immigration Committee
3rd Floor, 8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 862-1743

Metro Toronto Women's Credit Union
P.O. Box 595, Station F
15 Birch Avenue
Toronto, M4Y 2L8
Tel: (416) 960-0322

Ontario Council of Agencies
Serving Immigrants (OCASI)
c/o Cross Cultural Communication Centre
1991 Dufferin Street
Toronto, M6E 3P9
Tel: (416) 653-2223

Older Adult Centre
(St. Christopher House)
761 Queen Street West
Toronto, M6J 1G1
Tel: (416) 366-3571

Ontario Welcome House
Ministry of Culture and Recreation
8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 965-3021

Opportunity for Advancement
111 Sun Row Drive
Weston, M9P 3J3
Tel: (416) 245-4241

Problem Central
46 Highview Crescent
Toronto, M6H 2Y2
Tel: (416) 656-1252

Riverdale Intercultural Council
947 Queen Street East
Toronto, M4M 1J9
Tel: (416) 469-1819

St. Christopher House
84 Augusta Avenue
Toronto, M5T 2L1
Tel: (416) 364-8456

St. Stephen's House
91 Bellevue Avenue
Toronto, M5T 2N8
Tel: (416) 925-2103

Toronto Interagency Project for Southeast Asian Refugees
Unit NC4, Village by the Grange
122 St. Patrick Street
Toronto, M5T 2X1
Tel: (416) 598-2206 or 598-2208

University Settlement House
23 Grange Road
Toronto, M5T 1C3
Tel: (416) 598-3444

West End YMCA
931 College Street
Toronto, M6H 1A1
Tel: (416) 536-1166

Women in Transition
143 Spadina Road
Toronto, M5R 2T1
Tel: (416) 967-5227

Women's Counselling Referral and Education Centre
884 Bathurst Street
Toronto, M5R 3G3
Tel: (416) 531-3501

WoodGreen Community Centre
835 Queen Street East
Toronto, M4M 1H9
Tel: (416) 461-1168

Working English Committee
East York Community Centre
1081½ Pape Avenue
Toronto, M4K 3W6
Tel: (416) 425-7722 or 421-0878

Working Women
328 Bathurst Street
Toronto, M5T 3S3
Tel: (416) 363-4058

York Community Services
1651 Keele Street
Toronto, M6M 3W2
Tel: (416) 653-5400

York Centre YMCA
2547 Eglinton Ave. West
Toronto, M6M 1T2
Tel: (416) 653-0533

York-Eglinton Centre
1669 Eglinton Avenue West
Toronto, M6E 2H4
Tel: (416) 781-5621

York Information Centre
636 Glenholme Avenue
Toronto, M6E 3G9
Tel: (416) 789-4394

YWCA (Program for Immigrant Women)
(Bongard House)
80 Woodlawn Avenue East
Toronto, M4T 1C1
Tel: (416) 961-8100

Chinese

Chinese Catholic Centre
202 St. Patrick Street
Toronto, M5T 1V4
Tel: (416) 598-3920

Chinese Community Centre of Ontario
10 Hagerman Street
Toronto, M5G 1A7
Tel: (416) 864-1368

Chinese Golden Age Association
58 Cecil Street
Toronto, M5T 1N6
Tel: (416) 598-3562

Chinese Interpreter and Information Services
58 Cecil Street
Toronto, M5T 1N6
Tel: (416) 598-2022

Chinese Presbyterian Church
177 Beverley Street
Toronto, M5T 1Y7
Tel: (416) 368-9621

Chinese Canadian Welfare Association
29 D'Arcy Street
Toronto, M5T 1J8
Tel: (416) 366-2367

Toronto Chinese Community Services Association
70 D'Arcy Street
Toronto, M5T 1K1
Tel: (416) 366-3017 or 366-9867

Toronto Interagency Project for Southeast Asian Refugees
Unit NC4, Village by the Grange
122 St. Patrick Street
Toronto, M5T 2X1
Tel: (416) 598-2206 or 598-2208

See also:
Eastminster Community Services
Eastview Neighbourhood Community Centre
St. Stephen's House
University Settlement
WoodGreen Community Centre
Working Women

Vietnamese

Vietnamese Association, Toronto
8 York Street
Toronto, M5J 1R2
Tel: (416) 368-1030


LIBRARY
DEC
8
1960

Ontario Ministry
of Culture and
Recreation

Citizenship
Division

Hon. Reuben C. Baetz
Minister
Douglas Wright
Deputy Minister

Multicultural program
5th Floor, 77 Bloor St. W.
Toronto, Ontario, M7A 2R9
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